TO THE

# PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Fellow Citizens:

With your permission, I propose to address a few remarks to your consideration; and as I desire to promote the welfare of the Commonwealth, and thereby advance the interests of her people, I have selected the present moment as being the most auspicious to insure your calm and deliberate action. Had I disclosed my thoughts to you during the pendency of the late heated political contest, their effect, in all probability, would have been lost in the collisions of party strife. But as the elections are now over, and the mind again restored to its wonted equilibrium, you will be able to reflect dispassionately upon the grave matters to which it is my purpose to call your serious attention. In the observations which I shall make, I pray leave to invoke the scrutiny of your judgments, and not to arouse your passions. I shall appeal to you in the character of Pennsylvanians; and whilst I shall endeavor to awaken your state pride, and excite you to an effort worthy of your patriotism, I shall sedulously strive to suppress every extraneous feeling, so that you may act in the premises with that dignified moderation, due alike to your own reputations and to the important subject upon which your decision is asked.

With this brief introduction, I shall proceed to claim your attention, while I lay before you such facts and deductions, as appear to me to be necessary to a proper understanding of the subject.

You are aware, fellow citizens, that our Commonwealth has been engaged for the last eight years, in the prosecution of various plans of Internal Improvement. That she has been during that time occupied in constructing a series of rail roads and canals, with a view of affording channels of intercommunication between the remote parts of our own State; of affording the facilities of transportation, to the husbandman and manufacturer, for the productions of the

soil and of the arts; of bringing into the market the immense deposites of mineral wealth, with which our mountains abound, and of attracting to our great commercial emporium the trade of other States, by presenting to their acceptance an easy and cheap means of conveyance for their produce and goods. In the prosecution of these objects—objects so worthy of the enterprise, talents and wealth of our State—it is known to you that we have expended a large amount of money. With this expenditure we have been enabled to complete about seven hundred miles of rail roads and canals: but still after this heavy outlay of money; after involving ourselves in an onerous debt, we are compelled to confess, that the operation of our system does not promise that profitable return of interest for the capital invested which we have heretofore anticipated, or a general accommodation to the various parts of the State.

But it is fortunate for the interests of the Commonwealth that a remedy is within its reach, which will dispel every apprehension of ultimate resort to a levy upon the people, either to meet the capital borrowed, or the interest accruing thereon, or any other deficiency which may arise. The remedy to which I allude is, by simply extending the line of our canals from its present termination to the tide waters of the Chesapeake, and thereby open a direct and continuous water transportation from the coal regions of the valley of the Susquehannah to the Atlantic markets. Should this be done, our internal improvements would then prove, in reality, what all such works should be, blessings to the Commonwealth; but should this not be done, I fear that the large debt contracted by the State will operate to the disadvantage of at least three-fourths of our population, and benefit none but those residing, or owning property, in the Schuylkill and Lehigh regions, and the citizens of Philadelphia. I have no objections to these favored districts reaping harvests from the fostering care of the State government; but on the contrary, would take pleasure in their advancement; if other portions of the good people of the State, who are equally entitled to protection and care, were not the sufferers by the partiality shewn. From the magnitude of the expenditures made; from the extent of the works completed, we had a right to expect that the benefits would have been general. In this expectation we have been thus far disappointed, and to the same cause—sectional legislation—is the State to ascribe the unproductiveness of its public works.

I do not wish it to be thought for an instant that I am inimical to Internal Improvements, or that I wish to impugn the motives of those under whose directions these expenditures have been made, and the debt incurred. On the contrary, I am an ardent advocate for the most liberal appropriations, for all such objects as are called for by the general convenience and interests of the people of a State. It is my honest belief, that every dollar *judiciously* expended in works, which look to the interests of a *whole* community, is so much capital put out at the very best interest, for the benefit of

its citizens; for nothing can be more easy of demonstration, than that, in proportion as you *cheapen the cost of transportation* so do you add to the *profits* of the producer, whether that producer be a farmer, a planter, a manufacturer, or of any other branch of the various productive classes. Thus honestly impressed with the belief of the great utility of such improvements, I must be permitted to disclaim all intention of calling in question the general policy, when that policy is directed with a single aim of diffusing its benefits with an equal and an impartial hand to the several parts of any great whole. But if I should show that the reason why a large portion of our canals has been unproductive and must continue to be a burden on the people, arises from the circumstance of their unequal operation, I feel that I shall be excused for attempting to direct the attention of the Commonwealth to a subject, in which its interest is so vitally concerned.

We have lines of rail roads and canals upwards of 700 miles in length, and yet they do not net an income of more than about one-fifth of the interest on the capital invested in their construction. Why is this thing so? It is because a radical error was committed in the onset; which has been carried out in all subsequent movements, and which renders at this moment the most splendid works, in the Union, probably in the world, a burthen upon the people who should have been blessed by their possession. What is that error? The answer is a short and simple one. The interest, or rather the supposed interest, of an *individual* member has been looked to, at the sacrifice of that of *all* the others. I say supposed interest; for I will not admit that a policy so sinister as that which tends to create a pernicious and grinding monopoly, can conduce permanently to the true interest of any people.

The time has arrived when it is absolutely necessary to look the question fairly in the face. It is worse than vain to evade it any longer. The necessities of our people, and common justice demand that we no longer delay the application of a remedy for the evil under which we labor. The defect in our system of public improvements must be removed; for until that is accomplished, our Commonwealth will present to her confederate-sisters the melancholy spectacle, of a state powerful in natural resources, rich in wealth and all the appliances of the skill, industry and enterprize of her sons, rendered comparatively impotent by the pursuit of a contracted sectional policy—of a policy conceived in selfishness and nurtured under the influence of a blind infatuation—of a policy which in the attainment of its object, would prostrate the prosperity and blight the hopes of nearly half of the population of the State. It is useless, Fellow Citizens, to attempt to conceal the truth, or to gloss over the facts of the case as they really exist. It is no longer to be denied, that a large portion of our public works have been rendered almost useless, because of the unwise termination which has been given to them. Nor does the evil stop here, the largest portion of our Coal-lands are thus prevented from being brought

into productive use, and their inexaustible mineral deposites are of no avail whatever: and for what are the people of this Commonwealth called upon to make this enormous sacrifice? To gratify a mistaken opinion, that it is essential to advance the commercial prosperity of a single city. For this and this alone, we who live in the country watered by the Susquehannah, and its tributary streams, are to be deprived of an opportunity of transporting our heavier articles of produce to market: our lands are to remain unimproved, and the inexhaustible sources of wealth of our mountains are to continue unexplored. For it is useless to talk of carrying our coal to market, unless we are permitted to proceed with it to tide water; for, as it has been very happily termed, the "barrier country" between the Susquehannah and Philadelphia forbids the hope that it can ever compete in that market with the coal of the Schuylkill and Lehigh, if, in its transit thither, it is to be subjected to the delay and expense attending present mediums of conveyance. It is not within the accomplishment of human art to overcome this natural barrier so as to equalize the cost of transportation of the coal of the Susquehannah and Schuylkill, and place them on a footing of fair competition. Whilst upon this branch of my address, I feel that I cannot better illustrate my meaning than by quoting t he language of a citizen who has thought much and well upon the subject, and whose opinion is entitled to great weight. In speaking of the injurious policy to which I have before alluded, he remarks:

"This policy has produced this singular condition, that while on the one hand the coal mines of the Schuylkill and Lehigh are actively worked, with profit to their owners and with immense advantage to Philadelphia, in the exclusive enjoyment of a new and lucrative branch of trade—on the other hand, the inexhaustible Anthracite and Bituminous coal regions of the North and West Branches of the Susquehannah remain unworked and valueless, although having canals on those branches which have been mainly constructed with a view to afford the coal a safe and cheap channel to market."

If it should be asked why the proprietors of Susquehannah valley coal lands, do not avail themselves of those facilities of transportation, so *providently* furnished them, the question unfortunately finds too ready an answer, in the fact of the abrupt termination of the canal at Columbia—thirty seven miles from Port Deposite, on the waers of the Chesapeake. The coal of the Susquehannah valley, if it detcends the State Canal to Middletown, has then to encounter a further toll-paying route of one hundred and fortey-six miles through the Union Canal, and the Schuylkill navigation, before it reaches Philadelphia by that route; or, if it descends to the termination of the State Canal, at Columbia, it must there be rehandled and transshipped into cars, and sent over the Rail-Road, eighty-two miles, to reach the Philadelphia market. Under the disadvantageous circumstances, therefore, of longer routes and burdensome expen-

ses, the coal of the North and West Branches of the Susquehannah cannot enter into fair competition, in the Philadelphia market, with that from the Schuylkill and Lehigh; and being shut out from the markets of the Chesapeake, (although a canal of only twenty-seven miles to the state line, would unite with the present Maryland Canal, reaching from the line to Port Deposite)---the Susquehannah coal is of no value to the owners; it lies undisturbed in the mines; it produces no revenue to the state; and the branch canals, instead of being a source of large profit, are actually a burden on the people of Pennsylvania, to the amount of their cost. That cost, including the line of canal from above Duncan's Island to Northumberland, and thence up both branches of the Susquehannah, is not much, if any less than six millions of dollars!

Let us turn from this disagreeable view of the case, to one more congenial with our feelings, as citizens of the commonwealth. Let us leave the *proscribed* limits of the mineral wealth on the North and West branches of our mighty river, and contemplate for a time the rapid advances to opulence and power, which our neighbors of the more *favored* regions of the Schuylkill and Lehigh, have made within the last few years. And in order that the facts which I shall present to your notice may have the intended effect upon your deliberations, I shall draw them chiefly from the able and luminous Report, made to the Senate of our commonwealth, at the last session of the legislature, by the late lamented S. L. Packer, Esquire, on the subject of the coal trade of Pennsylvania. To demonstrate the happy influence which this trade has exercised over the interests of the commonwealth, in speaking of the Schuylkill navigation, he remarks:

"Tolls were first taken in 1818, amounting to $233, and "from that time till 1825, it does not appear, from the annual re- "ports of the company, that any accounts were kept on the *sepa-* "*rate* articles of tonnage; but that the whole amounted for the year "1824, to six hundred and thirty-five dollars. The next year, 1825, "at which period may be dated the commencement of the "coal trade on the Schuylkill, the tolls increased to $15,- "775,74 cents. Of this sum, $9,700 were received from coal. "Having been designed as a grand thoroughfare for the products of "the mine, the field and the forest; as a free navigation, open for "all who chose to participate in its facilities; and entering the "first coal field at its centre, affording an out-let for the coal of "more than half its territory; individuals of capital and enterprize "were attracted to the scene, and rail-roads constructed, diverging "in all directions to the mine. Laborers and mechanics of all kinds, "and from all nations, thronged to the place, and found ready and "constant employment. A new era seemed to have dawned in the "mountains. The wilderness was subdued. The coal basin seem- "ed to be literally running over with active and resolute adven- "turers; a rapidly growing population became established; the "wild animal was driven back, to give place to a host of miners, "who now pierce its thousand hills. So that, for the last year,

" 1833, (only *eight years* from the commencement of the coal " trade, on the Schuylkill,) the *tolls* on the canal amounted to " **$325,486 63** cents. Of this sum **$228,138** were " derived from the article of coal alone. Houses, many of which " are costly and splendid, and towns, the principal of which is " *Pottsville*, sprung up in various parts of the region. Coal lands, " the basis of all this promising superstructure, grew rapidly in " value." * * * * * * *

" So long as the wealth, the enterprise, the intelligence, and the " patriotism of our citizens cannot be concentred in the few, but " are equally distributed among the many, and equality of rights " continues to form a fundamental principle of our government, " it must remain as their common heritage, constituting a large por- " tion of the present wealth of the State, and her principal strength " in after ages."

Nor does this gratifying picture of the condition and prospects of the first or *favored* coal region stop here. The report adduces further evidences of the improving effects of the coal trade. It estimates the various improvements, public works, &c. which have sprung from it within the *first* coal region, as follows:

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|---|---|
| Canals, river navigation, rail roads, &c. 377 miles in extent, (private and public.) - - | $7,211,606 07 |
| Value of wagons or rail road cars and boats employed, colliery establishments, (92 in number) including working capital, utensils, horses, mules and 100,000 acres of land. - - - | 5,022,780 00 |
| Value of the following towns within the first district, viz: Pottsville, Port Carbon, Schuylkill Haven, Minersville, Mauch Chunck, Summitt Hill, Tamaqua, Patterson, Tuscarora, St. Clair, New Castle, Middleport, Mount Carbon, Pine Grove, Coal Castle, Llewellyin, and other small towns. - | 3,300,000 00 |
| Making the aggregate of - | $15,534,386 07 |

Of the above 377 miles of transportation, 279½ miles were made by individuals and incorporated companies, not having mining privileges, at an expense of $5,257,187 61; and 97¼ miles by incorporated companies having mining privileges, at an expense of $1,954,418 46 cents. The Delaware division of the Pennsylvania Canal was made by the State, is 60 miles in extent, and cost $1,430,211 85.

Now let us see, Fellow Citizens how this large expenditure, and value of property in the *favored district*, will compare with those in the two others:

| | |
|---|---|
| The whole estimated amount of the value of improvements, and property connected with and consequent upon the Anthracite Coal trade of Pennsylvania, in the three great coal fields, is | $19,176,217 42 |
| Deduct amount in *first* field. | 15,534,386 07 |

Leaving, to be divided between the two other fields $3,641,831 35

Let us carry the comparison still further:

The whole quantity of Anthracite coal mined and sent to market in Pennsylvania, during the year 1833, was—

| | |
|---|---|
| From the first anthracite coal field, - - | 429,933 *tons.* |
| " second do do - - - | 500 |
| " third do do - - - | 161,777 |
| Making in all, - - - | 592,210 *tons.* |

| | |
|---|---|
| Value of towns in the *three* coal fields, - - | $3,375,000 00 |
| " " " *first* " " - - | 3,300,000 00 |
| Leaving but this amount for the towns in the two other fields, - - - - | $75,000 00 |

When we see such striking differences, in the effect of our public works—when we see one district of country monopolizing three-fourths of the whole trade—when we see towns, villages and manufactories, created as by magic in the one, and the others literally standing still, our curiosity is excited to know the cause. We instinctively ask ourselves the question,—is the coal of the one region better than that of the other? And when we are answered that the cause does not arise from any preference originating in superiority of quality, the intensity of our curiosity is still the more increased. But it ceases to be a matter of surprise, when we look at the character of the facilities afforded to the respective districts. While the one has a continuous line of water transportation, the other is met on the very threshold with obstacles and impediments, which render utterly unavailable the rich advantages and benefits dispensed to it by Providence. The state canals do, it is true, not only penetrate the coal deposites of the North and West Branch regions, but actually pass through, in some instances, the very beds of coal themselves. But what does this benefit the state or the proprietors of the lands? They cannot avail themselves of those facilities, because from the very nature of the commodity, it will not bear the *present* expense of transportation to the only market to which under existing circumstances it is allowed to go.

Again, Mr. Packer shows by a statement which he makes in his report, that the *profits* on the 592,210 tons of coal sent to market, amounted to $1,181,420 00, and that after paying an interest of six per cent. on the canals, rail-roads and coal lands *in use*, it left an *excess* of *profits* of $731,126 35 cents; or that if we take the whole sum of the $19,176,217 42 cents, including the cost of portions of the state improvements, and the *value of the towns*, it would pay an interest on the total amount thus invested, of 6 per cent. except the small deficiency of $2,153 62 cents. It is thus made evident that while one portion of our fellow-citizens are enjoying a monopoly, and amassing wealth in the pursuit of this branch of home industry, another portion possessing equal claims to the

fostering care and protection of the commonwealth, are literally denied the privilege of using their own property to the best advantage. That the operation of the Internal Improvement policy of the state, acts as a premium to one class, and as a tax upon another, there can be no doubt. But whilst I affirm this fact, I am free to declare that, in my opinion, it never was the intention of the Legislature, that such should have been the effect of its measures. A laudable and praiseworthy desire, in the first instance, to favour our great commercial emporium, doubtless led to all the subsequent disadvantages. If this object could have been attained without operating to the injustice and injury of other portions of the state, equally entitled to the paternal regards of the government, I, for one, would not have murmured; but should, with feelings of pride and pleasure, have witnessed a result which should be dear to every Pennsylvanian heart. But there certainly cannot be any ingenuous mind that could ask a longer continuance of a policy, which experience, the surest of all human tests, has proved to be not only erroneous, but positively pernicious in its consequences, and injurious and oppressive alike to the interests of individuals, and to the Commonwealth.

If it should be said that the present supply of coal is adequate to the demand for it, I have to reply that such an assertion would be contrary to the experience of the country, and is contradicted by the laws regulating supply and demand. There is no principle better settled in political economy, than that the facility and certainty in the obtainment of an article, inevitably tends to increase its use and consumption. But let us quit theory and return to facts. Appended to Mr. Packer's report, there is a table showing the quantity of Anthracite coal shipped down the Schuylkill, in each year from the opening of the navigation in the year 1825, to 1833, inclusive, and from this and other data, entitled to equal credit, he arrives at the conclusion, that from 1820, the average increase of consumption, annually, has been a fraction more than *thirty-three per cent.* or an increase of *one third* yearly. By another table, he shows, that if the annual consumption of coal for the next ten years should be in the same ratio, as that of the ten preceding ones, the consumption of 1843 will be 10,510,890 tons, equal to $52,544,-450. Now, if but a moiety of the above amount should be realized, who can calculate the degree of prosperity which it would diffuse through every vein and artery of our Commonwealth. But if we will only reflect that the coal trade of Great Britain alone, amounts to 15,000,000 tons, annually, no one can rationally doubt that *our* coal trade by 1843 will reach the maximum of Mr. Packer's estimate; for every circumstance, present and prospective, favors the idea of an almost universal introduction of coal as a substitute for wood, in our private and public houses, in our factories, workshops, and steamboats; nor is there any reason to doubt that, in addition to home consumption, coal may not in a few years become an extensive article of exportation. But these results, in

their most favorable aspects, can only be realized by opening every channel of communication between the several coal fields and the waters on the Atlantic seaboard, by the most direct course, so as to place the article in the several shipping marts, at a price which will bear exportation. The following comparative statement will show the ease with which coal is being introduced as fuel in the two principal cities of the Republic, and the probable extent of the ultimate demand for those two places alone, may very readily be deduced therefrom.

| | *New-York City.* | *Philadelphia City and County.* |
|---|---|---|
| In 1830—Average value of wood of all kinds. | $493,085 86 | $612,102 13 |
| do. Coal, Anthracite, bituminous and charcoal | 321,731 86 | 308,400 00 |
| | $814,817 72 | $920,502 13 |
| In 1833—Wood of all kinds | $631,250 00 | $741,321 18 |
| do. Coal of all kinds | 496,180 16 | 404,401 00 |
| | $1,187,430 15 | $1,145,722 18 |

That coal will eventually take the place of wood, is beyond all question; for if no other reason should, economy will unquestionably force its adoption, as it is estimated that a population of 200,000 persons, would, *annually* save by so doing about *half a million of dollars.*

The gross proceeds of the coal trade of Pennsylvania may be set down, for round numbers' sake at THREE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, and the benefits springing to the inhabitants of our commonwealth from the distribution of this immense sum; the healthful action which it diffuses through all classes within the range of its influence, is, indeed, incalculable. To comprehend fully the appreciation which successful mining establishments imparts to property within the sphere of their operations, one must visit them; and there, unless he be sceptical, he will see the most pleasing evidences which he could desire, in the profitable employment of contented and well rewarded laborers and mechanics, in the number and neat appearance of the numerous villages and towns, which they have called into being, and in the marks of universal prosperity which at every step meet his eye, and gladden his heart, if it be moved by those impulses which should guide the patriot and the philanthropist.

The facts thus officially communicated to the legislature of our Commonwealth by the Committee of the Senate, most clearly prove that whilst the Schuylkill coal region is doing an excellent and rapidly increasing business—whilst the proprietors of the coal lands comprised therein, are reaping a rich harvest from their capital invested—whilst the property in that region, of every descrip-

tion, has been greatly enhanced in value—we of the Susquehannah country have been doomed to the mortifying reality, of beholding our fields of mineral wealth of no use whatever to ourselves, or to the State. It has been our lot to see the State involved in a burthensome debt, in the construction of great public highways, and to find, after all the labor and means expended in the completion of those works, that they are, for all the practical purposes of transportation, utterly useless to those for whose benefit they were constructed. But it is fortunate for us who as yet have been the greatest sufferers, that a remedy is of easy application, and one too which will occasion but very little additional expenditure. The present experiment has been tried and found wanting. It has now proved to the conviction of all unprejudiced and sensible minds, that the coal of the Susquehannah valley can never be carried to Philadelphia to market by means of the Union Canal and Schuylkill, or the Columbia rail roads. It is also proved that the natural barrier will ever continue to render the present, and all other *similar* conveyances, inefficacious. The idea, therefore of ever bringing our coal into competition with that of the Lehigh and Schuylkill in that market, by the tardy and expensive transit of canal and railway, as now provided, is absurd and ridiculous. And after taking an impartial view of the whole ground, after viewing the subject in all possible aspects, I have arrived at this conclusion:—that the only way of relieving the commonwealth from its ponderous burdens; of rendering justice to the people of our section of the State; the only feasible plan of enabling us to bring our coal lands into profitable use, and at the same time to render the Branch Canals productive, is to *continue the Pennsylvania canal from Columbia to tide.* This can be done with all possible ease, and with *well directed energies*, might be effected within one year from the time of its commencement. The distance is but thirty-seven miles, and indeed may be said to be but twenty-seven, for the lower ten miles from tide to the line of our commonwealth have already been overcome, there being a canal completed between those points: and I think I might venture the assertion, that the proprietors of that work, could be prevailed upon, either to sell out, or to merge their interest in our work. This would then render all those improvements which have been constructed for our benefit, (but which, from the causes before assigned, are useless) available not only to the proprietors of the lands accessible to them, but to the State. The *five or six millions* of expenditures for the Branch Canals, which are now as a mill stone around the treasury, would be at once productive; relieve the Commonwealth of the burthen of the interest, immediately, and would, in a few years, reimburse the principal. No one who understands the laws which regulate trade can take up the map of the U. States, and behold the direct communication to the Atlantic markets, which such an elongation of our canal would afford to the people of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan

and the farther west, but must conclude that our public works alone, would attract to it a business, which in a short time would pay every dollar of our public debt, and leave the Commonwealth in possession of a certain and increasing revenue—a revenue, which would enable her, at will, to enter into and construct any other improvements which might be called for by her interests, or by the convenience of the people. It would enable her too, to establish and sustain a GENERAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION, sufficiently large and comprehensive, to carry the lights of learning and of science, as it were, to the door of every man within her boundaries—and all this could be accomplished without a single dollar of taxes being levied on the people, and without involving the treasury in debt by resort to borrowing. I wish not to exaggerate or to excite expectations which cannot be realized; and confining myself within the bounds of what I conceive to be moderate anticipations, I do most firmly believe, that the revenue arising from the State improvements, if the canal communication from Columbia should be continued to tide, would be ample to establish and support a sufficient number of schools, *to educate the sons and daughters of every man and woman within the limits of the commonwealth, free of all expense to their parents.*

To show you, Fellow-Citizens, that the importance of this improvement is awakening the intelligent and patriotic to a proper sense of the necessity of immediate and prompt action, I will quote the opinion of a citizen of close observation and sound judgment, and who, in addition to these pre-requisites for a rightful decision upon the subject, has devoted much time to its consideration. After dwelling with great propriety of thought, upon the advantages which would result to the commonwealth by the elongation of the canal from Columbia to tide water, he remarks:

"Again, in the last annual report of the Canal Commissioners, the legislature of our Commonwealth is told, that the Delaware division of the Pennsylvania canal is destined to become one of the *most productive* lines in the State on account of the *mineral coal* that must pass through it to market! This is the coal as you know from which so large and profitable a business has arisen in the Philadelphia market. NOW WHAT IS THE FACT IN REGARD TO THE COAL TRADE IN THE SUSQUEHANNAH VALLEY? Why there is *no such trade.* We know that on the north branch the canals are finished into the heart of the great Anthracite region, *and yet, the coal is unmined;* and we see it stated in the *Wyoming Herald,* THAT THE GRASS GROWS UNDISTURBED IN THE BED, AND UNTRODDEN ON THE TOW-PATH OF THE CANAL? *There,* there is coal in untold millions of tons, and the canal running by it and through it, and yet because of the abrupt termination ,below at Columbia, *not a ton of it is mined* for the Philadelphia market, inasmuch as it is shut out from there by the nearer supplies from the Delaware. The same representation applies with equal force to the bituminous

coal regions of the west branch. The people on these branches complain not only of the injury and injustice inflicted on them in reference to the coal trade, but also of the additional expense with which they are burdened, in being confined, under the present system to the single and distant market of Philadelphia. But there is another evil growing out of this one-sided system which, in connection with those already hinted at, will compel the State to resort to the only remedy adequate to their removal. The canals above the Juniata—presenting an aggregate line of about 200 miles, are found to be but little used for any purpose, and not at all for coal transportation—the leading object of their construction. They have cost the commonwealth upwards of FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, and must press as a heavy burden on the public treasury until relief is afforded by a free intercourse with the waters of the Chesapeake, and through them with the ports of the Atlantic seaboard."

There is another paramount consideration, which should have great weight with the councils of our state, and which is of itself, sufficient to urge them to the immediate adoption of measures to complete the proposed connection of our canals, with the tide waters of the Chesapeake. I allude, fellow-citizens, to the contemplated *junction* of our public works with those of the state of Ohio. This measure, as most of you know, has been fondly entertained for the last two years: and, as you will recollect, elicited so warm an interest, both in that state and our own, as to cause the holding of a convention in November, 1833, formed of delegates from both states, whose proceedings were highly interesting, and developed a number of facts connected with the project, the trade and commerce of the west, and the practicability of the plan, worthy of the first consideration; and to some of these, I will presently refer. But in the meantime, I propose to quote a few paragraphs from the report made by the Board of Canal Commissioners of Ohio, last winter, to the legislature of that state, which have an important bearing on this subject. The Canal Board of Ohio have regarded the connection of the public works of that state, with those of Pennsylvania, in a light quite as favorable as we have done. The junction will be of the greatest value to both states, and the effect of it will be to throw the whole trade of Ohio, and the lakes into the Pennsylvania Canal—*provided* the people of Ohio and the west, are permitted to enjoy the advantage of a *choice of markets* on the sea-board. You will see, my fellow-citizens, by the following extracts from the report of the Ohio Canal Board, that those gentlemen not only hold out to the people of Ohio, the enjoyment of this choice of markets, as one of the leading inducements for making this junction with the Pennsylvania Canals, but that they speak, as if the choice already existed—as if our canal was already actually extended down to the tide waters of the Chesapeake. The fact of the stoppage of the canal, when only twenty-seven miles

short of a continuous line to Port Deposite, has too much of absurdity about it to be believed of the State that has expended twenty-three millions of dollars for a noble chain of 700 to 800 miles of canals and rail-roads, and yet leaves her whole system incomplete, imperfect, and unproductive, for want of a little connecting link of twenty-seven miles of canal, which would unite her directly with the Atlantic, and give her back ton for ton, for all that she thus sent to market. But to the report of the Ohio Canal Board—that document says:—

"In relation to the first point, to wit, the expediency of con-
"necting by a navigable canal, the canals of Pennsylvania and
"Ohio, under the direction and at the expense of the States, the
"Board feel no hesitation in saying that they have entire confidence
"in the utility of the proposed work, both to our citizens and to
"those of Pennsylvania. Such a work will at once open a naviga-
"ble communication of the most perfect and useful character be-
"tween the interior of Ohio, and the great manufacturing city of
"Pittsburg.

"The proposed work, will also remove the only remaining ob-
"struction, which exists in the way of a *direct commercial* inter-
"course between the interior of Ohio and the great commercial
"marts of *Philadelpha and Baltimore.* A free access to these
"cities will open to our citizens a choice of markets, and create a
"competition between those cities, and New York, for supplying
"the Western country with goods, which must necessarily operate
"to the advantage of the Western people.

"It will also open a *direct channel* of communication between
"lake Erie, and the other upper lakes, on the one hand, and Pitts-
"burg, and by means of the Pennsylvania Canal, with the ports of
"the *Delaware and Chesapeake* on the other. We need not
"here give a detailed view of the advantages resulting to the im-
"mense region of country, bordering on those lakes from a *choice*
"*of markets*, as well, as thus being enabled to avoid the delay in
"reaching the *sea-board* through the New York Canal, occasion-
"ed by the long continuance of the ice in the eastern end of
"lake Erie, in the spring. No person acquainted with the lake
"country, and with the geographical facts connected with the sub-
"ject, can fail to appreciate their importance.

"Nor is the country adjacent to the Ohio river, and its naviga-
"ble branches below Portsmouth, less interested in the proposed
"work, than the lake country. A large proportion of the goods
"procured for the supply of the Western country, are now pur-
"chased in the cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore, and this will
"probably to some extent continue to be the case. Most of these
"goods are brought to Pittsburg or Wheeling, and sent from
"thence down the river by water. When the Ohio river above
"Portsmouth, is too low to permit the navigation of steam-boats,
"of a medium size, the transportation of goods down the river, is

" attended with much expense and great liability to loss or damage
" of the goods.

" Should the proposed improvement be made, these evils
" would in a great degree be avoided, and a safe and convenient
" canal navigation would thus be formed from Pittsburg to Ports-
" mouth, not liable to be interrupted for any considerable time, ex-
" cept by ice in winter. And below Portsmouth, a small class of
" boats, can at all times ply with safety. The Board entertain
" the confident belief, that should the proposed communication be
" effected, a large proportion of the foreign goods, and of the hea-
" vy articles manufactured at Pittsburg, which now descend the
" Ohio, would in that event pass through our canal, from the junc-
" tion of the proposed Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal, to Portsmouth,
" particularly when the Ohio river is low: and no doubt can exist
" in relation to the establishment of an active commerce between
" the whole country near the Ohio Canal and Pittsburg."

From the whole tenor of these remarks, it is obvious that the Ohio Canal Commissioners are acting on the supposition that the communication, when the junction canal shall have been completed, will be perfect and continuous from the waters of the Lakes to those of the Chesapeake and Delaware, so as to afford "a choice of markets": indeed it would be strange for any impartial man, of any intelligence, to think of any other termination to our works. Indulging in an honest conviction of the necessity of their continuation to tide, we who reside on the waters of the valley of the Susquehannah, are gratified to find the public press urging its propriety with zeal and talent, and we trust that, as the question has been mooted, that its discussion may be gallantly conducted until the inhabitants of every city, town, village, farm-house, and hamlet, within our limits may be awakened to a proper sense of the necessity—of the absolute necessity of the proposed work to their own individual prosperity, as well as to that of the Commonwealth. Let others say what they may, to me it appears plain, that until this extension is made, our internal improvements will continue what they now are,—*public burdens*, whose oppressive weight will increase in magnitude, with each revolving year. Sectional prejudices, and local partialities must be laid aside; that pernicious system of log-rolling legislation, which has brought this calamitous state of affairs upon our Commonwealth, must be abandoned, and every honest hearted Pennsylvanian must view the State as a common parent, whose welfare it should be his first duty to further and promote. If all will be influenced by such feelings and such principles, in the ponderous moral force which will be thus brought to act, I can behold an easy victory, and anticipate a speedy and felicitous termination to the cause of our present embarrassments.

Having shewn by reference to the report of the Ohio Board of Canal Commissioners that they base the chief grounds of their fa-

vorable views, with respect to the Junction Canal, upon the supposition that it will afford a continuous communication from the Ohio Canal and the Western Lakes and to the Chesapeakeas well as the Delaware Bay; having shown that this junction meets with the approbation of both States, I shall now show in further corroboration of the necessity of the elongation of our works from Columbia to tide, that the members of the Canal Convention held at Warren, Ohio, in November last, (by representatives from that state and this,) on the subject of the Junction Canal, entertained similar views, and that the whole course of the reasoning of the several reports there made, assumed the *outlet to the Chesapeake*, as a granted proposition.

In the report made by the committee, of which Mr. KING, of Trumbull County, Ohio, was Chairman, in demonstrating the superiority of continuous canal navigation, over a channel composed of canals and rail-roads, and thereby illustrating the superior advantages to result from the junction of the works of the two States, observes:

"That a rail-road from one central point of travel to another, of-
" fers great facilities to travellers is conceded. But such a com-
" munication between two canals, or navigable waters, although it
" might lessen the distance, still it would not attract the commerce
" between them, if a canal communication was available. The ex-
" perience derived from witnessing its effect, on the Albany and
" Schenectady rail-road, which has been in operation for several
" years past, exemplifies the truth of this position. The distance
" between those two cities, by way of the Erie Canal, is double that
" of the rail-road. The canal likewise, by reason of its rapid de-
" scent into the valley of the Hudson, upon that section between
" those places is more retarded in its operations by numerous locks,
" than perhaps any other section of equal distance, of its entire
" line. Yet it is a fact well attested, that the rail-road is wholly
" unable to compete with the canal for the transportation of mer-
" chandize or produce, and is entirely dependent upon travellers
" alone, for its business and revenue."

The concluding paragraphs of this report, adopts the language of a report made to the Ohio Legislature in 1828, by the Canal Commissioners, which speaks of the proposed Junction Canal as
" the most advantageous route between Pittsburg and Lake Erie;
" the most *direct from the western parts of Lake Erie, and the*
" *north western lakes, to Pittsburg, Philadelphia and Baltimore.*"

From the facts which I have arrayed, it must be obvious to the perception of all, that in the proposed junction of the Ohio Canals with those of our state, that the people of the former state are acting under the belief that ours are to be conducted to tide water: and so far as her interest is concerned, any termination short of that would hold out no inducement whatever for her to move in the premises, because, if after traversing her own splendid works from

Cleveland on Lake Erie, with her produce, to the intended junction with ours; if after pursuing her course through our canals to the west side of the Alleghanies; if after overcoming those stupendous barriers by means of the Portage rail-road; if after having again taken our canals at Hollidaysburg and travelled on their surface to Columbia—I say, if after performing this tedious journey, she is forced to encounter, almost within sight of tide water, the delay and expense of transhipment on a rail-road eighty-two miles in extent, she had better husband her resources, and reach the Atlantic market as she does now chiefly—through her own canals, the lakes, and the works of the State of New York.

For myself, I consider it utterly out of the question for Ohio to enter into the proposed junction, until our commonwealth shall have given an assurance that our canal shall be continued from Columbia to tide water. That assurance being once given, and the necessary means taken to carry it into prompt and vigorous operation, a new era will, indeed, have dawned upon our beloved Commonwealth.

That this *elongation* of our own works, and the junction with those of Ohio, would secure us the carrying of the immense trade of a large portion of the West, both to and from market; that it would greatly increase the trade of our commercial emporium, enrich the coffers of the state, and give a new life to business, I have no doubt. The whole body of facts, as developed in the several reports of the Ohio Convention, as well as the reasoning, go to establish these facts. The distance from Cleveland to Philadelphia, is considerably nearer than from the former place to New York. The danger of the lake navigation is too notorious to require details. The losses have become so frequent as to induce the merchants to resort to insurance for safety, and as stated in one of the reports named, the *insurance* thus paid in the spring and fall, when most of the goods and produce are upon the lakes, vary from a *half to one per cent.* premium. They complain, too, of the delay in forwarding the produce of the country to New York, to obtain the advantage of an early market, occasioned byt he accumulation of ice from the upper lakes, in the harbor of Buffalo, until the latter part of May. This is an evil of no small magnitude, says the report. "It prevents the merchant from obtaining his spring supplies at Cleveland from New York, until about the first of June, and to still later periods, at the different points South and West, corresponding with their respective distances from that place"; and, it adds, "he is then compelled almost immediately to make preparation for his fall supply, to secure it from the increased danger of a lake navigation." The report further adds—"a delay of a few weeks, beyond the ordinary time, has frequently resulted in the storage of his goods (the merchant's) for the winter at Buffalo, or being driven past their destined port, they have been landed at Detroit, to await the opening of the navigation in the spring. The uncertainty of time, re-

quired for the transportation of merchandize across the lake, occasasions great embarrassments to mercantile operations. Vessels upon the lake by which most of the commerce of the country is carried on, are frequently compelled *to lie in port* days, and sometimes *weeks*, waiting for favorable winds; and the merchant in the interior, at a distance from the point where his goods are to be landed, is often put to the expense of keeping his teams abroad waiting the arrival of his goods, or of returning without them." "The transhipment and storage of produce and merchandize, at Cleveland, Buffalo and Albany, necessarily retards their progress, and greatly enhances their expense."

These are among the most prominent of the difficulties attendant on the Lake navigation and route. They are sufficient of themselves to insure to Pennsylvania nearly all the trade of the West, accessible to the Ohio Canals and the numerous rivers and waters of the contiguous States. In confirmation of this opinion I will add a few words more from the able report before me. It says:

"These unavoidable contingencies of the present Lake route, added "to its comparative distance already stated, must inevitably effect "an *entire change of the channels of communication*, by which "the whole commerce of the *west, with the Atlantic cities*, now "carried on through the Ohio Canal and Lake Erie, must pass "through the Pennsylvania Canal, whenever it shall become united "to Ohio. This result we consider inevitable."

What the policy of Pennsylvania should be, should not be a debateable question. She has the richest boons ever held out to a state, wooing her, by all the allurements of interest and of wealth, to accept them,—the terms of their acceptance equally consult her pride and her welfare—if she yields consent, then, indeed, will her pathway be strewed with the elements of greatness and of power; then, indeed, may she, in the conscious integrity of her strength, lay a just and honorable claim to the title which has been in courtesy conceded to her, of being the *key-stone in the great arch of confederated states.* But if she reject this boon, though her days may not have been thereby numbered, yet she will be guilty of an act amounting almost to suicide; for she will cast from her a jewel of priceless value.

A few remarks as to the value of the trade of the West. This can be understood from the facts which follow:

In the year 1825, the number of vessels which arrived at Cleveland, Ohio, was 75—21 of which were steam boats.

The value of articles exported that year amounted to $50,166—imports, $132,645.

In 1829, the number of arrivals was 314; of these 90 were steam boats—amount of exportation $222,000—importations $568,000.

In 1830, the arrivals were 775, and the business in proportion.

In 1832, the exportations were in amount $1,500,000; the imports $2,000,000; the arrivals 1070; of these 470 were steam boats.

In 1833, up to the middle of October, the exportations were $2,000,000 and the importations $4,700,000.

In 1827, the population of Cleveland was 606; in 1830, it was 1000, and in 1834, it amounts to 4,500, and there have been during the past season, built in that thriving town between 300 and 400 houses.

Nor was the salutary influence of this trade confined to Cleveland alone. At Buffalo, in the state of New York, the terminating point of the lake trade, as connected with the Ohio improvements, its vivifying effects were equally beneficially felt. Buffalo, in 1830, contained 6,358 inhabitants; by a late census, it is ascertained that there are now 12,501, being an increase in four years of nearly one hundred per cent.

Again, Chicago, a small though important port in the state of Illinois, is a strong evidence of the growing importance of the Western trade. Up to the early part of September, this place which is to be found on but few of our maps, had had 180 arrivals of vessels with produce; and the account whence I extract this, adds, that *two years* ago, a dozen vessels would have been considered a large number for a season. In 1833, there were 8,000 barrels of salt, at an average price of $3 per barrel, taken there; the supply of the present year it is supposed will reach 16,000 barrels, and it is estimated that the demand will soon amount to 32,000 barrels. This salt has thus far been furnished by the salt works of the state of New York; but if our improvements should be speedily completed as proposed, what is to hinder us from sharing at least, in the spoils? What is there to prevent us from supplying a large portion of this salt, and to receive in return the produce of the country where it is consumed?

The facts at command, for the illustration and support of my position are numerous, but the length which my address has already reached admonishes me to forego the mention of them and bring it to a close. I must, however, be permitted to dwell for a moment on one or two, which could not, in justice to the subject, be omitted.

It is estimated that the coal lands of Pennsylvania now worked amount to about 100,000 acres; the extent of the coal lands in our commonwealth, is 21,975 square miles, and contain 14,064,000 acres of land, so that there are yet to be pierced 13,964,000 acres, containing a body of coal sufficient to supply not only this entire continent, but the world with fuel until time shall be no more. From the quantity of lands now undergoing the operation of mining, with all the disadvantages consequent on the imperfect state of our channels of conveyance to market, a part of the people of our state is deriving an annual benefit of THREE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS; town after town has risen up in the region of the Schuylkill; the mountains, which were once the haunt of the beast of the forest, have been filled with an active and industrious population; lands which were of but nominal value have received a great appreciation in price, and become

readily saleable; and what is still more valuable, the farmers, in the neighborhoods of these establishments, find a ready market for the surplus produce of their farms. If with this partial working and defective avenues of transportation, effects so advantageous have been wrought, what may not reasonably be calculated, when our system of internal improvements shall have been completed with a view to subserve the interests of the *whole* body of our citizens, and when a much greater extent of our mineral resources shall have been rendered available?

When the canal shall have been continued from Columbia to tide, there will no longer be any motive to the dealer and farmer to commit their produce to the dangerous and uncertain navigation of the river in arks. They may then bring their Flour, Wheat and other articles, liable to injury from exposure to the weather, to market without incurring any hazard of having their value lessened while in transitu. Our Susquehannah wheat and flour are both favorites with the purchasers in the Atlantic markets, and if they could be transported thither uninjured, would command better prices than similar articles from any other section of our country. As it is, farmers and dealers are subjected to a loss which has been estimated to average from ten to fifteen per cent. As matters now stand, they are compelled to seek a market at the periodical risings of the waters of the Susquehannah, and are thus, by circumstances, often forced into glutted markets, and of course subjected to pecuniary losses by the fallen value of their produce. There is another reason which operates to depress the price of their *flour*. From the length of time which elapses between those periodical floodings of the river, the idea of age necessarily attaches to that article, and as even the bare suspicion of *staleness* in a thing whose quality and value is so dependent on *freshness*, the owner necessarily suffers. Were these articles transported by canals, they would reach their respective markets in good order, and command the very highest prices. There is another advantage, of no small moment to the farmer, the miller, and the dealer—they might then choose their own time to seek a market, as the canals would be navigable nearly the whole of the year, and could thus avail themselves of every improvement in prices as it occurred. In such a state of things, it would not be hazarding too much to say, that those advantages would be worth to the farmer, miller and dealer, from fifty cents to a dollar on every barrel of their flour, and from ten to fifteen cents on every bushel of their wheat, and that they would impart correspondent appreciation to every other article of produce which they might bring to market.

There is another circumstance, which though trifling in itself, is of great consequence to us residing in the Susquehannah country. Let the canal be extended to tide, and then there is not a farmer among us, but will be able to get his supply of *shad* and *herrings* from the numerous fisheries on the river and Chesapeake, and get them too at prices which will enable us to indulge our families with them. This may, perhaps, appear a small matter to introduce into

a serious essay on a subject of such vital importance. But the cost of the transportation of fish forms no inconsiderable item in the returns of all public works; and no one will deny but that they add greatly to the comforts of home and the enjoyments of the table.

I have thus, fellow-citizens, thrown my thoughts together, and now submit them to your consideration, asking for them great indulgence, as they have been written at intervals stolen, as it were, from an avocation which incessantly claims my attention. Having no claims to authorship, I have aimed rather at making myself understood, than at grace in diction and adroitness in connecting a sentence or turning a period. Before I conclude, I would, however, make an appeal to the people of our Commonwealth, wherever they may be located. To those who reside without the Valley of the Susquehannah, who have not felt the oppressions of a cruel and relentless step-mother—who have not been visited with the ban of proscription, I say, give us that justice, which, were you situated as we are, you would desire at our hands;—extend to us your sympathy—lend us a helping hand. To those who reside in the Susquehannah Valley, I say now is the time to assert your rights—now is the time to secure the enjoyment of that equality of privileges, guaranteed by the Constitution of our State, and which is vouchsafed by the very spirit and genius of our institutions. But if we expect to succeed, we must at least deserve to do so. We must put our shoulders to the wheel, before we call on Hercules to help us—we must bestir ourselves. Each of us must make the matter a personal affair. Petitions must be gotten up; our country must be laid off into districts, and persons appointed to visit every house and cot and procure the signatures of every man dwelling therein. These petitions, when signed, must be consolidated and presented to the Legislature at Harrisburg, praying that active measures be immediately taken to continue the canal down to the Chesapeake. I have thus far said nothing of the cost of making the proposed link in the great chain of communication, and I have abstained from so doing, purposely, because I hold it that it is a matter of no moment, whether it costs one or two millions of dollars, as, cost what it may, the expenditure is absolutely required to render available the greater portion of the enormous sum already expended. But if there be any who do not view the subject in this light, to such I would remark, that calculations have been made by persons competent to the task, which fix the cost at not more than *one million of dollars.* And surely, there are none, who will object to an appropriation of the means of the state, at a time like the present, when every thing connected with individual prosperity, and the public welfare, are so deeply and vitally concerned.

A CITIZEN OF PENNSYLVANIA.